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A fye for schame O thou envyous man
 Thyнк whens thou came and whider to rapayr
 Hastow not sayd eke that these women can
 Laugh and loue nat parde yt is not fair
 Thy corrupt speche enfecyth alle the air
 Knoke on thy brest repent now and euer
 Ayen therwyth and say thou saydyst yt neuer

11

Thynк fully this and hold yt for no fable
 That fayth in women hath his dwellyng place
 ffor out of her cam nought that was vnable
 Saf man that can not well say in no place
 O thou vnhappy man go hyde thy face
 The court ys set thy falshed is tryed
 Wythdraw I rede for now thou art aspyed

12

If thou be wyse yit do this after me
 Be not to hasty com not in presence
 Lat thyn attourney sew and speke for the
 Loke yf he can escuse thy neeglygence
 And forther more yit must thou recompence
 ffor alle that euer thou hast sayde byfore
 Haue mynde of this for now I wryte no more.

In lines 3 and 30 the ms. reads *os* instead of *as* a common trick with the Fairfax scribe. In line 5 the ms. reads *the* instead of *ye*, and in line 6 *thais* instead of *this*. In line 14 *to* is omitted. In line 58 the ms. reads *myned* instead of *meuyd*, and in 65 *thom* instead of *thou*. Line 66 reads *Hastow thou not*—etc. Lines 79, 80, 81 are in the ms. arranged 80, 81, 79, with scribal marks for transposition.

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A NOTE ON CHAUCER'S PRONUNCIATION OF *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*

Scholars now generally hold that Chaucer identified the diphthongs *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, and gave them the sound of, approximately, *ei*. Jespersen, in his *Modern English Grammar*, even states as a fact that the Middle English diphthong had the value of *æi*. But no one has adduced adequate proof that his theory is reasonable; and no one, so far as I am aware, has adequately discussed Chaucer's pronunciation from the derivative or Old

English dialect point of view. This note, therefore, though obvious, may perhaps be justified.

By classifying the rime-words, and referring to the rime-indexes, any one can see that Chaucer made no distinction between *ay*, *ai*, *ei*, *ey*, whatever the source; and he must, therefore, have given them almost the same pronunciation. This can be established as *ei* or closer, if we grant, not unreasonably, the following premises: first, that the Old English signs, *æ*, *e*, *ē*, stood for the vowel sounds we now find in *man*, *met*, and N. H. G. *Reh*, respectively; second, that when a vowel had started on a cycle of change, it developed normally in this cyclic direction, though of course with different velocities in different districts, *e. g.*, that *æz* > *æj* > *æi* > *ei* > *ei*, rather than that, as Ellis, Skeat, and Sweet, seem to assume, *æz* > *æj* > *ai* (= *aye*, *aye*, *sir I*) > *ai* > *æi* > etc.; third, that Chaucer derived his words, except when there is proof otherwise, through the medium of the Mercian dialect. So I should prefer to take *seyde* as coming from Merc. *segde* rather than W. S. *sægde*, and *teyd* as from Kent. *teid* or *tēz(e)d* rather than W. S. *tyzed*.

The following words, therefore, beginning in Mercian with the sound *ǣz*, must have had in Chaucer's works the sound *ei*; or even a closer one, for *ǣ* would tend to become closer as *z* > *j* > *i*. The latter view finds support in the general tendency of English vowels to become higher (and closer), a tendency which Jespersen treats fully in his *Mod. Eng. Grammar*. The words I refer to as coming from Merc. words having *-eg-* are: *day*, *lay*, *may*, *ey*; *nayl*, *sayd*, *slayn*, *ayeyn* and *ageyn*, *brayn*, *hail*, *breyde*, *mayde*, *tayl*, *fain*, *fair*, *naille*.

With the preceding words should be taken this class of words, which had a diphthong that must by derivation have been closer than *ei*, for in all the O. E. dialects words of this class were written with *-eg-*, not *æj*; they are: *ayleth*, *freyne*, *y-lain*, *leith*, *leyd*, *leye*, *pley*, *pleye*, *reyn*, *reyne*, *sail*, *seyle*, *seye*, *y-seyn*, *seyne*, *way*.

Chaucer undoubtedly gave the following also a close sound, since they were strongly palatalized in Old English, and were soon after Chaucer's time close diphthongs, from the influence of the following *c* or *ŋ*. These are: *bleynt*, *dreynte*, *queynt*, and *yqueynt*, *ymeynd*, *yspreynd*.

Now, there are a few words in Chaucer of which the form can be explained only by a Kentish origin. And two of them had vowels which were certainly close in Kentish, namely, **drēze*, W. S. *drȳze* and *tēz(e)d*, W. S. *tȳzed*. Every probability therefore favors a close sound for Chaucer's *dreye*, *teyd*, *beye*, and *reye*.

Riming with these, moreover, are a few words that had a very close sound throughout the O. E. district, as is indicated by the spelling, -*ēz*-, -*ēoz*- or -*iez*-. Unless subject to some hitherto unnoted perversion, then, *wreye*, *tweye*, *tweyn*, *hey*, and *deye* must have had a close sound in Middle English. The fact that words of this class rime with *multiplȳe*, *Emelye*, *dye*, *crye*, *vilanye*, etc., is another indication of a close pronunciation. A close quality is also indicated by variant spellings like *eese* for *eyse*, *mischef* for *mischeif*, *heere* for *heyre*.

Words not only of Old English but of Scandinavian derivation as well, are far more reasonably explained with the sound in M. E. approximately of *they* than with the sound *æi* or *ei* usually ascribed to them. The words *ay*, *bayte*, *nay*, *rayse*, *swayn*, *teyne*, *they*, *sleighte*, *biwayle* could not very well have had an open sound in Middle English.

The evidence, therefore, from the derivation of such words as *day*, *nayl*, *ayleth*, *bleynt*, *dreye*, *biwreye*, *tweyn*, *bayte*, *sleighte*, is fairly strong that Chaucer gave the diphthongs *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* a sound between that of *ei* and *ei*, a pronunciation very possibly, in view of the recorded pronunciations of the sixteenth century, not so close as that of N. E. *they*.

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NOTES ON DE BOER'S EDITION OF *PHILOMENA*

I

Attention has already been called to the incorrectness of the statement made by the editor of *Philomena* in regard to the pleonastic use¹ of the

¹ ZRPb., 1909, pp. 587-589.

particle *en* by Chrétien de Troyes. M. de Boer also lays particular stress upon the use² in *Philomena*, l. 196, of the personal pronoun³ for the reflexive :

"Des autors sot et de grameire
Et sot bien feire vers et letre
Et, quant li plot, li antremetre
Et del sautier et de la lire."

ll. 194-197.

This he considers an archaism, and states⁴ that Chrétien uses it only once, in *Erec*, 2670.⁵

There is, however, at least one example in *Lancelot*. The queen has just heard the report of Lancelot's death, and the poet says :

"Tantost se lieve mout dolante
De la table, si se demante
Si que nus ne l'ot ne escoute.
De li ocirre est si estoute
Que sovant se prant a la gole."

ll. 4195-99.

It would be strange if Chrétien never, after he wrote *Erec*, used the tonic personal pronoun for the reflexive in the third person, when examples of this use may be found up to the close of the fifteenth century.⁶ It was the tonic reflexive that was so replaced. The tonic form of the pronoun might precede or follow the governing infinitive. In *Yvain*, Chrétien writes :

"Mes teus consoille bien autrui,
Qui ne savroit conseiller lui."

ll. 2533-34.

A few lines below we find :

Ne leira que congié ne praigne
De retourner soi an Bretaingne.

ll. 2545-46.

In the first of these two cases, the *lui* is no doubt used because of its juxtaposition with *autrui*, but even to-day we should say : *qui ne saurait se conseiller lui-même*. In Chrétien, *lui* must be construed as object of the infinitive and as replacing, or, if you will, repeating emphatically the reflexive understood, even tho now *lui-même*

² *Philomena*, éd. crit. par C. de Boer, Paris, 1909, pp. lxi, cvi.

³ I. e., the tonic personal pronoun. De Boer fails to make this necessary qualification.

⁴ P. lix.

⁵ Correct to 2669.

⁶ Cf. "s'ilz eussent tiré tout droit sans eulx faire ouyr," *Commynes*, II, 12.